THE NATIONAL ERA.

SPEECH OF MR. BINGHAM, OF MICHIGAN, ON THE

ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA DELIVERED

Mr. BINGHAM said:

In the House of Representatives June 4, 1850.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Two years ago I took occasion to express in this Hall my opinion of the consti-tutionality and expediency of applying the pro-visions of the Jeffersonian Ordinance to the territories recently acquired from Mexico. I stated my belief that slavery was a great moral and political evil; that it was an element of weakness wherever it existed; that it was a hinderance to the growth and prosperity of a State; that it was wholly incompatible with that degree of intelli-gence which makes labor either respectable or profitable; and that it was our duty to protect here new and feeble territories, thrown upon our care, from its dangerous and threatened encroachments. I propose "to take no step backward now." I have seen no reason to change my opinion. The vindication of slavery by its able champions on this floor has given no attractions to its features, or rendered them any less odious

to my view. The argument to support the right to carry slaves into the territories and colonize them, under the Constitution, has proved entirely unsatisfactory; for I regard it as exclusively a State institution, protected solely and only by the laws of the State, and no more susceptible of being transferred to the territories and protected by the United States Government, than is the com-

State of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, in the earlier and better days of this Republic, slavery was everywhere, North and South, execrated and denounced as an evil and a curse. Its introduction into this country was made the subject of earnest protest, and its emancipation was regarded as an object which would be accomplished at an early day after the close of the Revolution, and as both desirable and proper. Some weeks since, an honorable gentle-man from Ohio [Mr. Campbell,] and more recently an honorable gentleman from Maine, [Mr. Gerry,] introduced to the notice of Southern gentlemen, for the purpose of refreshing their recollection, the opinions of their ancestors. For the purpose of my argument, I shall repeat a few of those precious extracts. In an able exposition of the rights of British America, and laid before the Convention of Virginia, which assembled in August, 1774, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the proposed Congress, drawn by Thomas Jefferson, is the following extract:

"The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But, previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves, it is necessary to exclude further importations from Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few At corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and the rights of human nature, deepy wounded by this infamous practice."—Am. Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 696. The Congress of Darien, in the colony of

Georgia, passed the following preamble to a series We the representatives of the extensive dis-

trict of Darien, in the colony of Georgia, being now assembled in Congress, by the authority and free choice of the inhabitants of said district, now freed from their fetters, do resolve." Then follow several resolutions setting forth

the grounds of complaint against the oppressions of Great Britain, closing with the emphatic declaration which I will now read: To show to the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but by a general philanthropy for all mankind, of

whatever climate, language, or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatutal practice of slavery in America, (however the uncultivated state of our country or other specious arguments may plead for it)—a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties as well as lives. debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest, and laying the basis of that liberty we contend for, and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity, upon a very wrong foundautmost endeavors for the manumission of our slaves footing for the masters and themselves,"-Am.

Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 1135.
In front of the State-House, Philadelphia, was proclaimed the following sentiments: " We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights; that among these

are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."Declaration in Congress, July 4, 1776. Thomas George Washington, in a letter to Robert Mor-

ris, dated Mount Vernon, April 12th, 1786, said:

"I can only say, there is not a man living who
wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it, (slavery;) but there is only one proper and effectual mode in which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, so far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."—Sparks's Washing-Again, in a letter to John F. Mercer, dated

I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another

slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

In his Notes on Virginia, Mr. Jefferson says:

from the dust, his condition mollifying, and the way, I hope, preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation."

Again, Mr. Jefferson says:
"Nobedy wishes more ardently than I to see an abolition, not only of the trade, but the condition of slavery, and certainly nobody will be more wil-ling to encounter any sacrifice for that object." In the Convention which formed our Constitution, Mr. Madison said: "I think it wrong to admit the idea, in the

Constitution, that there can be property in man. suggestion of Mr. Madison was adopted, and so zealous were the framers of that instrument to prevent even a color of approbation for the long tinuance of the institution, that not even the term slave was allowed to find its way into the

In the Convention of the State of North Carins, when the question of the adoption of our Federal Constitution was under consideration,

When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of hu-

Congress under the Constitution, from Virginia, during a discussion in relation to that provision of the Constitution inhibiting the slave trade,

held the following language:
"He hoped Congress would do all in their power to restore to human nature its inherent privileges, and, if possible, wipe off the stigma which America labored under."

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, while the same pro-vision was under consideration in the Federal Convention that formed the Constitution, said : "The present question concerns not the importing States alone, but the whole Union. The evil of having slaves was experience! during the late war. Had slaves been treated as they might

have been by the enemy, they would have proved dangerous instruments in their hands."

Again, on the same occasion, after having said many things which, if repeated now by any gentleman from the free States, would, in the opinion of gentlemen from the Ree States, would, in the opinion of gentlemen from the South, entitle him to the sobriquet of "Abolitionist," spoke as follows:

"He held it essential, in every point of view, that the General Government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery."

The institution of slavery at the period referred to was recarded with so much hostility by

red to was regarded with so much hostility by the leading men in all parts of the country, the committee who drafted and reported the Declaration of Independence, felt constrained to, and did assign the fact, that the British King had by his acts fastened it upon the Colonies, as one of the grievances which justified separation. The Ordinance of '87, in these words—"there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude therein, except for the punishment of crime of which the party shall have been duly convicted"received the support of every Southern man. Mr. Leigh, in the Convention of Virginia, in 1832,

"I thought till very lately, that it was known to everybody, that during the Revolution, and for many years after, the abolition of slavery was a favorite topic with many of our ablest statesmen, who entertained with respect all the schemes which wisdom or ingenuity could suggest for its

These short extracts, Mr. Chairman, disclos these short extracts, Mr. Chairman, disclose the true sentiments of Southern statesmen, and exhibit the feelings which pervaded the Southern States at the time, and soon after the close of the Revolution, which gave us a name and a rank among the nations of the earth. Fret.

ers of the nation have passed away; a new generation has succeeded them. A life of luxurious indolence is entirely inconsistent with emancipation. It is easier to appropriate the proceeds of the labor of others than to earn, by honest industrial labor of others than to earn, by honest industrial labor once honerable has become dery; and labor, once honorable, has become degraded, for who would be the yoke-fellow of a slave? New slave States have been added to the Confederacy and new territory acquired, political power has thereby been obtained, and ambition has been gratified. The Senator from Massachusetts attributes this sudden change-by which, chusetts attributes this sudden change—by which, instead of considering slavery "an evil, a blight, a blast, a mildew, a scourge, and a curse, it has become a cherished institution; no evil, no scourge, but a great religious, social, and moral blessing—to the sudden uprising and rapid growth of the cotton plantations of the South." Whatever the cause may be, it is certain that the change has taken place; and for the purpose of letting my constituents see what the sentiments letting my constituents see what the sentiments of members of this House are, I append a few extracts from their speeches, delivered the present

"It has been said that slavery is a 'doomed institution; and so I believe—'doomed' to exist for-ever. It is one of the oldest institutions among men. In every age, in every clime, it has been practiced and sanctioned by mankind, whether acting upon the light of nature or of revelation. Indeed, among men, Christianity itself has not so many evidences in its favor—a small part of mankind have been Christians, while the practice of slavery has been universal. Solon and Lycurgus are known to us by the fame of their legislation: they made no laws against slavery. Greece and Rome, the most distinguished and civilized of

Our Maxiour stood upon the world amid slaves, where the master had power over the life of the servant—he did not rebuke it or denounce it as a crime. And I trust that I will be pardoned for crime. And I trust that I will be pardoned for resting my conscience upon these high authorities, and for declining to commit it to the keeping of these modern free-soil saints, who have so much trouble in keeping their own."—Speech of Hon. J. H. Savage, of Tennessee, May 13.

But, sir, slavery is not only justified, but it is claimed that it was the design of the framers of the Constitution to extend and perpetuate it. I

will read another extract: "To extend the institution indefinitely, it [the

Constitution] prohibited the passage of any law to stop the importation of slaves from Africa, and to stop the importation of slaves from Africa, and elsewhere, prior to the year 1808. Another clause, with a view to its perpetuation forever, provides for the recapture of fugitives who escape to non-slaveholding States. Notwithstanding these plain stipulations between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, constituting the essential, vital provisions of the Constitution, without which all admit the Confederation could not have been formed, we are cantingly told that 'slavery is a sin, and the North is opposed to its extension.' We, the philanthropists of this day, are better than the sages and heroes, purified by the trials of and Revolution, and covered with its glories, who assembled in the old hall of the Conederation in 1787. L here necesty to units these pharisaical pretensions; they are beneath contempt. I am content with the religion of the Bible, and the Constitution of our fathers, uncorrupted by the comments of the pseudo moralists and statesmen who now shed their coruscations upon us. I shall certainly not condescend to reply to the puling sophistry upon this subject, so often heard in this House. Were I disposed to argue the question of slavery, without reference to the Constitution, in all its relations, religious, moral, social, and political, no fear of its successful yindication would restrain me. It would seem ful vindication would restrain me. It would seem to be profanation to call an institution of society irreligious or immoral, which is expressly and re-peatedly sanctioned by the word of God; which existed in the tents of the patriarchs; and in the households of His own chosen people."—Speech of Hon. Mr. Inge, of Alabama.

An honorable gentleman from Mississippi [Mr-FEATHERSTON] Says, "That slavery is the natural, the proper con-

dition of the African—one that is advantageous to his master, and a great blessing to him."

An honorable gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Bocock.] from the land of Washington and Jeffer-

"It is now asserted that slavery is 'a moral evil,' in other words, a sin, and consequently that those who hold slaves are guilty therefor. Sir, when I look to those enduring precepts of moral conduct title to Oregon, which was asserted in the Baltilook to those enduring precepts of moral conduct which, mocking all change, and defying all flight ous as eternal ages shall crown them with the fruits of their happy influence, I see slavery there tolerated, I had almost said inculcated. * * * Satisfied ourselves that there is no immorality in it, we have a very slight opinion of those who are so egregiously wounded in conscience for us" And the honorable gentleman from Mississippi

"You think that slavery is a great evil. Very "You think that slavery is a great evil. Very well, think so; but keep your thoughts to yourselves. For myself, I regard slavery as a great moral, social, and religious blessing—a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to his master."

An honorable gentleman from Alabams, [Mr. Alston.] in reply to an honorable member from New York, who had stated that the South acknowledged the sin and evil of the institution, and yet sought to extend that evil to others, said.

and yet sought to extend that evil to others, said, "that the South entertained no such opinions," and added, "We are told by St. Paul that if there bad been no law, there would have been no sin; then sin must be a violation of divine law; and I shall proceed to show that slavery is not a viola-tion of that law, and therefore no sin." The retion of that law, and therefore no sin." The remainder of his hour was devoted to the proof that slavery was a divine institution, established by the law of God; that the public wealth and happiness were promoted by it, and that it was our duty to perpetuate and extend it. I leave the question of its origin, Mr. Chairman, to be settled by theologians; with that I have, at present, nothing to do; my only object in making these quotations is to show, that while the statesmen and people of In his Notes on Virginia, Mr. Jefferson says.

"I think a change stready perceptible since the origin of our present Revolution. The spirit of the master is abating—that of the slave is rising to show, that while the statesmen and people of the North have consistently and uniformly regardance. ed slavery as an evil, that the sentiment and action of the South has undergone a change, and that from a unanimous desire which they once entertained to re-trict its limits, and to gradually but finally exterminate it from the land, they have put forth their mightiest efforts to strengthen, extend, and perpetuate it. This desire on the part of Southern statesmen was first exhibited in the celebrated Missouri controversy. They were unwilling to relinquish a single acre of that immense Louisiana purchase from the grasp of the slave power. Then, as now, the stability of the Union was menaced, and the North was taunted with the threat of a Southern confederacy; but in the settlement of the controversy, a Southern President, with a Southern Cabinet, of which Mr. Calboun was one, distinctly acknowledged the power of Congress over slavery in the territories. The same spirit was manifested in the Florida purchase. But it was never so boldly and shamelessly exhibited as in the negotiations for the annexation of Texas. I propose, Mr. Chairman, to make some quotations from the celebrated correspondence which preceded the treaty, under Mr. Tyler's administration, that my constituents may see the motive which prompted Southern states-men to enter into that negotiation, and also to

convince them of the propriety, nay, absolute necessity, of ingrafting the anti-slavery restriction into the two and three million bills which afterwards proposed the acquisition of Mexican territory, and into territorial governments new that the country is acquired. These negotiations were based upon the assumption that the Rivink Governments are the assumption that the Rivink Governments are the assumption that the Rivink Governments based upon the assumption that the British Gov-ernment was exerting its influence to obtain from Mexico the recognition of Texan independence, a condition of which was, that slavery was to be abolished in Texas. This excited in the minds of the Southern slaveholders in the Cabinet the greatest niarm, and the powers of the Government were put forth to prevent it. In a dispatch to Mr. Murphy, the Secretary of State, Mr. Up-

shur says:
"A movement of this sort cannot be contemplated by us in silence. Such an attempt upon any neighboring country would necessarily be viewed by this Government with very deep concern, but where it is made upon a nation whose territories join the slaveholding States of our Union, it awakens a still more solemn interest. It cannot be permitted to succeed without the most strenuous efforts on our part to arrest a calamity so serious to every part of the country.

Again he says:
"But there is another view of this subject still more important to us, and scarcely less important to Texas herself. The establishment, in the very to Texas herself. The establishment, in the very midst of our slaveholding States, of an independent Government, forbidding the existence of slavery, and by a people born, for the most part, among us, reared up in our habits, and speaking our language, could not fail to produce the most unhappy effects upon both parties. If Texas were in that condition, her territory would afford

country depends.

"I will only add, that if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she could not maintain that institution ten years—and probably not half that time." Mr. Calhoun succeeded in the Department of

the British Minister, taking up the correspondence where it was left by the untimely death of Mr. Upshur, after a detailed statement of the history and condition of slavery in the United States, That what is called slavery is, in reality, political institution, essential to the peace, safety, and prosperity of those States of the Union in which it exists."

And, after the treaty was concluded, in a dis-And, after the treaty was concluded, in a dispatch communicating the fact to the Mexican Government, he assigns as a reason for annexation—
"That the step was forced on the Government of the United States, in self-defence, in consequence of the policy adopted by Great Britain in reference to the abolition of slavery in Texas. It was impossible for the United States to witness with indifference the efforts to abolish slavery there." * * "And that, if accomplished, it would lead to a state of things dangerous in the extreme to the adjacent States, and the Union itself."

These extracts, Mr. Chairman, from a voluminous correspondence carried on in secret—all knowledge of which was entirely excluded from the American people, and which never saw the light of day until the veil of secrecy was removed holders desired the annexation of Texas, principally for the purpose of strengthening and perpet-

unting slavery.

These reasons for the annexation of Texas were exclusively Southern reasons; but to the North, a different language was held; and the Hon. Mr. Walker, late Secretary of the Treasury, in a public letter, extensively circulated at the North, after stating elaborately the public benefits which would be gained by annexation, thus refers to elavery.

refers to slavery:
"The question is asked, 'Is slavery never to "The question is asked, 'Is slavery never to disappear from the Union?' This is a startling and momentuous question; but the answer is easy and the proof is clear. It will certainly disappear if Texas is reamezed to the Union—net by abolition—but slowly and gradually, by 'diffusion,' as it has thus already nearly receded from several of the more northern of the slaveholding States; and as it will continue thus more rapidly to re-cede by the reannexation of Texas, and, finally, in the distant future, without a shock, without abolition, without a convulsion, disappear into and through Texas into Mexico and Central and

This plausible theory, which was also presented in a speech by Mr. Buchanan, in the United States Senate, was intended "exclusively for the Northern eye." The calling negotiation, and the correspondence, were known only to Southern men, and conducted exclusively by them. The public never would have seen it, if, lorg after, a majority of the Senate had not removed the injunction of secrecy. Indeed, sir, I believe that nearly every man who voted for the treaty strenulously opposed and voted against the publication of the correspondence. Texas was annexed. The people of the North who supported it were governed, I trust, by motives far higher, and far more worthy, than any which related to the question of slavery. The joint resolutions which passed both Houses of Congress contained an alternative, which was dictated by the wisdom of Mr. Benton, and which was intended to avoid any misunderstanding or collision with Mexico, and to the adoption of which, the faith of the outgoing and incoming Administrations were solemnly pledged. That pledge was broken, and we were soon hurried into a war. I do not say that that was an un-justifiable war. I have no desire to condemn it, much less to detract from the well-earned fame of the brave men who fought and won the battlesconferring imperishable renown upon their country. I think it might have been avoided. But I ask any dispassionate man to look at this matter hon-estly, and say, if he can, that the acquisition of additional territory, which was contemplated at the beginning, was not intended to be made slave territory, and to strengthen the slave power? same objections apply to a free border State be-yond Texas, which were urged with so much zeal

yond I exas, which were urged with so much real in favor of annexation? Do we not daily hear them urged now? Why, sir, this very thing was foretold with the precision of prophecy. An hon-orable Senator frow New Jersey, [Mr. Dayton,] in the debate upon the annexation of Texas, used the following language: "Can we believe, for an instant, that the South will be contended with the Rio Grande? No. will be contended with the Rio Grande? No, sir, no, sir. As certainly as when the time shall come when she has filled up this wide area, the South will again demand extension at our hands. Sir, if this country hold together, I put this prophecy on record—I stake my reputation with posterity—that our Southern States will walk with us step by step, and side by side, to the Pacific occan."

Pacific ocean."

Sir, I know not what conclusions others may arrive at, but my own convictions are clear, that arrive at, but my own convictions are clear, that
the Wilmot Proviso was both expedient and
proper, and that the Northern man who preferred
freedom to slavery would have proved recreant
to the high trust conferred upon him—recreant
to the cause of civil liberty—recreant to the rights
and interests of the free labor of the North—if
he had failed to vote for it and sustainit. Sir, what is this "Wilmot Proviso," which has been stigmatized by every opprobrious epithet, which has been denounced as an "abolition scheme," as "a vile abstraction," a "firebrand of discord" which the Democratic editor of the Pennsylvanian which the Democratic editor of the Pennsylvaman characterizes as the invention of some "witty and cunning political juggler"—which the editor of the Union denominates a "pestilent heresy?" Sir, it is nothing wore nor less than the proposition of the noble Virginian, applied in 1787 to the country I have, in part, the honor to represent, and by which it was declared, that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes," Sir, the five great States northwest of the Ohio, with their millions of people, with their teeming cities, their thriving villages, with thousands of happy homes—made happy by the industry of prosperous freemen—with their churches, and colleges, and schools, with all the elements of present wealth and future greatness, owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Thomas Jefferson, for that honored and celebrated "Prayice" which will stand in the and celebrated "Proviso," which will stand in the undying records of his fame, second only to that

of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Chairman, we are bound by the obligations of justice and good faith, to protect these feeble or justice and good faith, to protect these feeble territories, conquered by our arms, from the encroachments of slavery. What was the nature of the proclamation furnished by Mr. Polk, through the War Department, to General Taylor, and published to the people of New Mexico?

"We come to make no war upon the people of Mexico, nor upon any form of free Government they may choose to select for themselves."

This was the language of General Taylor's proclamation. Did the people there select "any form."

clamation. Did the people there select "any form of free Covernment?" Sir, in a petition presented to the United States Senate, from the people of New Mexico, assembled in convention, is this

" We do not desire to have domestic slavery within our borders; and until the time shall arrive for our admission into the Union as a State, we desire to be protected by Congress against its introduction omong

And yet, sir, with this cry for protection coming up from the people, Congress hesitates and falters about fulfilling the solemn, plighted faith of the Government! Similar orders were issued to General Kearny. I quote from the letter of the Secretary of War:

"You may assure the people of those provinces [California and New Mexico] that it is the wish and design of the United States to provide for them a free Government, similar to that which exists

Sir, is slavery a necessary element of a free Government? They were promised a Govern-ment similar to that which existed in our territories; and the only Government existing in the territories at that time—that of Wisconsin—was en-tirely free, and shielded by the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. Shall our first act towards these Ordinance of 1787. Shall our first act towards these people, who have submitted to our arms, and placed themselves under our protection, be a breach of plighted faith? When this weak and defenceless people lift up their hands and pray to be "protected against the introduction of slavery amongst them," shall we present ourselves to the world in the attitude of disregarding our pledges, and tell them their prayer is insolent? Shall we

dom, liberty, emancipation, was the great ides.

But, Mr. Chairman, a change has come over the spirit of the South. One after another, the first measure of the new emigrants, and their interests are betrayed—if there is a single man, I clusive and separate privileges—the liberal par-

as soon as they shall have sufficient strength, will be to destroy that great domestic institution upon which so much of the prosperity of our Southern country depends.

"I will only add, that if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she could not maintain that institution text in that institution text in that institution text in that institution text in the time t

"We of the South, Mr. Speaker, are not struggling against a name, nor are we to be deluded by shadows. We are claiming a substance and a reality. We demand fair participation in our common acquisitions, or at least equal opportunity of enjoying them. I know some think the nature of these countries and the necessities of their clime and productions must exclude slavery. So do not I. In all new countries where labor is dear, and domestic servants particularly are not to be obtained, if law allows, the conveniences and desires of men will, in my opinion, demand slaves. In mining operations they would confessedly be most valuable; and at this very moment, did the South enjoy her rights, her whole slave property would already have felt the appreciation of a large demand for emigration to California.

"All sensible men know that, in relation to California, the agitation and threat of the Wil-mot Proviso has been very nearly tantamount to its enforcement for our exclusion. Slaves are in the nature of capital, which is proverbially timid, and could not be carried in while there was the impending threat and danger of compulsory "But the discovery of the wonderful mines and

the consequent amazing enhancement of the value of labor in California, increased daily the likeli-hood that slaves would be needed and introduced trust, to establish the fact that the Southern slavethe people as to their institutions. From realizing this strong probability, we are effectually precluded by the State Constitution of California.

"Evasion of the just responsibility of encountering the pernicious free-soil doctrines, has involved in its unconstitutional usurpations, plunged it into inamerable embarrassments, and inflicted on the South foul wrong. And are these things to be cloaked under the specious plausibilities of respect for the people of the Territories and non-intervention? Respect for the rights of the people in thousands of miles of vacant territory, where in fact there are no people, is to justify the utter disregard of the rights of the people of half the States of this Union, the sole proprietors and sovereigns of the whole! Non-intervention with the supporters of this Adminintervention with the supporters of this Admin-istration was not wont to be advocated or defend-ed. But let that pass. Properly understood, it could only contemplate that the citizens of all the States of the Union should be equally free to enter and settle with their property on the common territories of the Union-slaveholders and nonslaveholders to be on precisely the same footing of equality and right, and to be equally protected by the law and policy of the Government,

The following are extracts from the speech and address of the Fign. Mr. Brown, of Mississippi ... As I could respect the reckless and bold robber who, unmasked, presents his pistol and demands my money or my life, above the petty, but expert pickpocket, who looks complaisantly in my face while he steals my purse—so can I respect the dashing and dare-devil impudence of the Wil-mot Proviso, which robs the South, and takes the responsibility, above the little, low, cunning, slight-of-hand scheme, which robs us just as effectually, and leaves us wondering how the trick

performed.

My own opinion is this: that we should resist the introduction of California as a State, and re-sist it successfully; resist it by our votes first, and lastly by other means. We can, at least, force an adjournment without her admission. This being done, we are safe. The Southern States, in Convention at Nashville, will devise means for vindicating their rights. I do not know what these means will be, but I know what they may be, and with propriety and safety. They may be to carry slaves into all of southern California, as the property of sovereign States, and there hold them, as we have a right to do; and, if molested, defend them, as is both our right and duty. "We ask you to give us our rights by NON-INTERVENTION; if you refuse, I am for taking

"We ask you to give us our rights by Now.

INTERVENTION; if you refuse, I am for taking them by Armed occupation."

The following remarks were made by the Hon.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina:

"I may remark further, that but for the antislavery agitation, slaveholders would have carried their negroes into the mines of California in such numbers, that I have no doubt but that the majority there would have made it a slaveholding State. We have made it a slaveholding State. We has, by Northern votes, repeatedly, from time to time passed the Wimot Proviso, so as in effect to exclud-

I might go on, Mr. Chairman, with extracts like these to an indefinite extent, but I will only add a single one from a speech delivered in the Senate by the Hon. Mr. Mason, of Virginia:

"Sir, the point of division between the States where slavery exists, and the States where slavery does not exist, is this: We claim, under the Constitution, a right in law, for all or any of our citizens to go into any territory belonging to the United States, with all or any of their property, and to reside there, and to enjoy it as their property, without molestation or hindrance, under the protection of the Constitution, so long as it remains a Territory. We hold that a Territory is, in the terms of the Constitution, the property of all the United States; and so long as the Southern States, where slavery exists, are constituents of these United States, they have the right to go into that Territory, to reside there with their property, and to enjoy it under the protection of the Constitution. That is the right, clearly, and I hope distinctly, defined upon the part of the South, so far as I under-

"We have heard here from various quarters and from high quarters, and repeated on all hands—repeated here sgain to-day by the honorable Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Shields.] that there is a law of nature which excludes the Southern people from every portion of the State of California. I know of no such law of nature none whatever; but I do know the contrary, that if California had been organized with a Territo-rial Government only, and for which, at the last that Government only, and for which, at he last two sessions of Congress, she has obtained the entire Southern vote, the people of the Southern States would have gone there freely, and have taken their slaves there in great numbers. They would have done so because the value of the labor of that class would have been augmented to them many hundred fold. Why, in the debates which took place in the Convention in California which formed the Constitution, a calculation was gone class of people, showing that it would be increased to such an extent in the mines of California that they could not be kept out. It was agreed that the labor of a slave in any one of the States from which they would be taken was not worth more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty

be worth from four to six thousand dollars."

Mr. Chairman, If this is not a triumphant ref-Mr. Chairman, if this is not a triumphant ref-utation of the presence that it is not necessary to exclude slavery by positive enactment, because the laws of the climate or the laws of the coun-try exclude it, I know not what proof would be necessary; and yet, sir, we are asked to listen to the syren song of non-intervention! Non-inter-vention! Lee not kim who regards the dignity of free labor be ensnared by it, for it is the cry of "peace! peace! when there is no peace." Mr. Chairman, if the supporters of the "Wilmot Pro-viso," in the last Congress, among whom I am proud to be numbered, needed any other vindica-tion from the attacks which were made upon tion from the attacks which were made upon them, except the approval of their own con-sciences, for so strenuously insisting upon it, it is furnished in these extracts which I have read. "If California had been organized with a Territorial form of Government only, and for which, at the last two sessions of Congress she has obtained the entire Southern vote, the people of the Southern States would have gone there freely, and have taken

States would have gone there freely, and have taken their slaves there, in great numbers."

This is the emphatic and authoritative language of the distinguished Senator from Virginia. Sir, the men who made determined and effectual resistance to the "Clayton compromise," the "Walker compromise," and all other compromises, by which it was intended to open a great slave market on the shores of the Pacific, need no higher encomium; and the men who wish to place a barrier against its onward march through New Mexico to the southern extremity of North America, need no higher incentive for opposition to the "scheme of pacification," the "plan of adjustiment," which has recently been so imposingly unhered by the famous Committee of Thirteen.

Mr. Chairman, I have hitherto spoken of the change which has taken place in the South in relation to slavery. I have shown that while the were in that condition, her territory would afford a ready refuge for the fugitive slaves of Louisianna and Arkansas, and would hold out to them a encouragement to run away, which no municipal regulations of those States could possibly counteract."

Again, in another dispatch, he says:

"There is no reason to fear that there will be slaveholding States; and there is a large number in the non-slaveholding States; and there is a large number in the non-slaveholding States, with views sufficiently liberal to embrace a policy absolutely necessary to the salvation of the South, although in some respects objectionable to themselves."

Texas remaining an independent Government, and of its being peopled by emigrants from Europe, the says:

"But the first measure of the new emigrants," shall we present ourselves to the salvery and a ready refuge for the fugitive slaves of Louisianna and Arkansas, and would hold out to them an encouragement to run away, which no municipal regulations of those States could possibly counteract."

"Keep the word of promise to the ear, And break it to the hope?"

God forbid! Again, Mr. Chairman, we are told that this is "an impracticable and barren Protoid that this is "an abstraction," and entirely "unsulphantation of physical geography, the law of the formation of the earth." Sir, if there is an intelligent man in the district I have the honor to respects objectionable to themselves."

Texas remaining an independent Government, and of its being peopled by emigrants from Europe, the says:

"But the first measure of the new emigrants," shall we present ourselves to the sale which has taken place in the South in relation to slavery. I have shown that while the statesmen who have passed off the stage deplored its existence, and contemplated its existence, and contemplated its existence and contemplated its existence, and contemplated its existence and contemplated its existence and contemplated its existence, and contemplated its existence, and contemplated its existence, and contemplated its

Ireland, which can denounce the cruelties of Austrian oppression, which congratulates revolutionary Europe in every effort to throw off the yoke of bondage—the party which has aimed to give the fullest extent of freedom to man—has been made, or sought to be made, the instrument for converting the free territory we have acquired, and which should be consecrated to free labor, into the abode of slavery. Whether the secret negotiations to which it have referred, and to which publicity had not been given, had any secret negotiations to which i have referred, and to which publicity had not been given, had any inflence upon the Baltimore Convention of 1844, I am unable to say; but when the new Administration asked from Congress an appropriation of two millions for the purpose of acquiring territory, and the condition was proposed that it should not be changed from a land of freedom to a land of slaves, it was coldly received, and the Union newspaper, the organ here, was made to say, "it is no recommendation, as a friend of the Administration, to be the friend of the Wilmot Proviso."

Istration, to be the friend of the Wilmot Proviso."
This significant hint was soon understood by the swarms of men who live by official patronage, and by a press which was largely dependent upon Government favor for support.

Mr. Chairman, it is very well known, that to all the leading measures of the last Administration, I gave a cordial and hearty support. Its liberal system of finance, which removed, in a great degree, the restrictions upon commerce—its admirable system for the collection and safe keeping of the public revenues—its warehouse system. of the public revenues—its warehouse system, and the able manner in which the war with Mexico was conducted-were measures which received the approval of my judgment, as they were but I think I do it no injustice when I say, that its whole power and patronage were employed to prevent the application of the Ordinance of Jef-

prevent the application of the Ordinance of Jef-ferson to the Oregon and Mexican Territories, and that its official influence was exerted to crush some of the purest and best Democrats in the land, simply because they were the advocates of the cause of Freedom. As the National Conven-tion for 1848 approached, a new test was sought to be interpolated into the Democratic creed. On the 10th of December, 1847, the Legislature of Alabama, being about to elect a United States Senator, addressed a number of interrogatories to Mr. King and Mr. Dixon H. Lewis, who were candidates for the place, among which was one Mr. King and Mr. Dixon H. Lewis, who were candidates for the place, among which was one asking them if they would support the nominee of the Baltimore Convention for the office of President. To this interrogatory Mr. King replied:

"I will pledge myself to sustain the Democratic nominees of a National Convention for President and Vice President, provided they are opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, or any interference by the General Government with the Question of Slavery as it exists in the Southern States."

Mr. Lewis replied:
"Without especial preference for any individual, if I were to indicate a choice for President, it would be in favor of the soundest Democrat from the free States, taking the highest, boldest, un most decided ground against the Wilmot Proviso." On the 22d of December of the same year, the State Convention of Georgia selected her del-egates to the National Convention, and passed the ollowing resolutions:
"Resolved, That the Democratic party of Geor

"Resolved, That the Democratic party of Georgia will support no man for the office of President or Vice President, who shall not have clearly and unequivocally declared their opposition to the principles of the Wilmot Proviso."

"Resolved, That it is the constitutional right of every citizen to remove and settle with his property into any of the Territories of the United States." TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK!

BOSTON "NATIONAL ERA" AGENCY. THE National Era comes from Washington to this office by Express, and is delivered by carriers in any part of the city proper, at \$2.75 a year, free of postage; single copies, six and a quarter cents.

Now is the time to secure this national advocate of the Liberty Movement, during the first session of Congress under the new Administration, when questions of the most thrilling importance must be decided.

Bubscriptions and renewals respectfully solicited by Nov. 26.

GEO. W. LIGHT, 3 Cernhill.

Information always furnished free. Addres-April 18-3mi ARNOLD BUFFUM.

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cription, and Collecting Agent, No. 10 State street, Bos Journal Building,) is also agent for the National Era. JOHN W. NORTH, A TTORNEY and Counsellor at Law, and General La Agent, Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota Territory.

LAW OFFICE, COLUMBUS, O. WILLIAM B. JARVIS, Jun., Attorney and Counselled at Law, Columbus, Ohio. Office in Platt's new oulding, State street, opposite south door of State House. Business connected with the profession, of all kinds, punctually attended to.

MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW.

MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XI.—June, 1850.

EDITED by Theodore Parker. Devoted to the Free Discussion of matters pertaining to Philosophy, Literature, Politics, Religion, and Humanity. Terms, three dollars per year, in advance.

New subscribers, remitting six dollars, will be supplied with the work from the beginning to the close of the third volume, (now in progress,) until the edition is exhausted.

Contents of No. 11.

The Polish Slavouian Philosophy.
Causes of the Present Condition of Ireland.

The Industrial Arts in Russia.

Browning's Foems.

Hildreth's History of the United States.

Short Reviews and Notices.

Published by COOLIDGE & WILEY, No. 30 Devonshire street, Boston, and sold at the Bookstores. June 6—limi

THE ASSAM TEA COMPANY. No. 136 GREENWICH STREET, NEW YORK. THE proprietors beg to call the attention of compoiseeurs in Tea, and the heads of families, to the choice and rare selection of Teas imported by them, and hitherto unknown in this country, which by their fragrance and delicacy, combined with virgin purity and strength, produce an infusion of surpassing richness and flavor.

The Jeddo Bloom, a Black Tea, at - \$1.00 per lb.
The Niphon, do. do. - 75 do.
The Diari, do. do. - 50 do.
The Diari, do. do. - 50 do.
The Osseca, a Green Tea, at - 1.00 do.
Tae Toe taiaa, do. do. - 75 do.
The Ticki-tica, do. do. - 50 do.
The Ud fi Mixture, a compound of the most rare and choice Teas grown on the fertile and small soil of Assem.

The Teas offered are the following :

6.7 Country Agents required. Applications to be ad-iressed, poet paid, to the Company's Depot, as above. June 6-3m NEW ENGLAND TRUSS MANUFACTORY,

hearing.

All ladies in want of abluminal supporters or trusses will be waited upon by his wife, Mrs. Caroline D. Foster, who has had twenty yoars' experience in the business.

JAMES F. FOSTER.

Boston, 1860. June 6-3m

LIGHTS LITERARY AGENCY. No. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

THE PRIEND OF YOUTH, a new and attractive mentalty journal for Youth, edited by Mrs Baillay, and published at Washington, also comes by Express to this agency. Price, delivered in Boston, free of pusings, 76 G. W. LIGHT & CO

SPRINGDALE BOARDING SCHOOL FOR GIRLA.

SPRINGBALE BOAR DING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

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The summer term will commence on the 19th of Fifth month, (May.) The winter turm will commence on the 19th of Kleventh month, (November.)

The branches taught are—Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Ristory, Grammar, Composition, Book-keeping, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Themstry, Botany, Algebra, Rhetoric, the French Language, Drawing, Painting, and Needlework.

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A library, a cabinet of minerals, and philosophical apparatus, are provided for the use of the school. The discipline is strictly parental; and every effort is made to induce in the minds of the pupils a love of knowledge and desire of excellence as the proper stimulants to exertion.

The terms, for tuition, board, and washing, are \$100 per annum, or \$50 per term of 23 weeks. The only extra charges are 50 cents per quarter for lights, pens, and pencils; \$3 per quarter for French lessons and the same for drawing and painting. Books and stationery furnished at the usual prices, when required.

Scholars sent to the Point of Rocks will be conveyed to the school free of charge by giving timely notice, directed to Pureally Store.

he school free of charge by giving timely notice, dir Dec. 6. SAMUEL M. JANNEY, Principal. HAMILTON COLLEGE,

THE Commencement at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, will take place on Wednesday, July 24th. During the week the usual addresses wilk be delivered before the Society of Christian Research, by Ker. Albert Harnes, of Philadelphia; before the Alumni, by Hon. William J. Bacon, of Utica, of the class of 1822; before the Literary Societies, by Hon Penry B. Stanton, of Seneca Falls, and a Poem by Alfred B. Street, of Albany. TO INVENTORS.

TO INVENTORS.

THE subscribers offer their services to persons wishing to obtain patents in the United States or in foreign countries, and will prepare specifications and drawings, and take all necessary steps to secure a patent.

From their long experience as practical mechanics, added to a thorough knowledge of the Patent Laws, and accountrance with the details consecutively the sale to give satisfaction to their employers, both in the clearness and precision of their employers, both in the promptness and ability with which they transact all business intrusted to them.

Persons residing at a distance may procure all necessary information, have their business transacted, and obtain a natent, by writing to the subscribers, without incurring the expense of a personal attendance at Washington.

Models can be sent with perfectsafety by the Expresses Rough aktiches and descriptions can be sent by mail. For evidence of their competence and integrity, they would respectfully refer to all those for whom they have transacted business.

Letters must be postpaid.

Letters must be postpaid.
Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office P. H. WATSON. E. S. RENWICK. June 7. BENNETT'S DAGUERREAN GALLERY.

Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City, one door west of Gilman's Drug Store.

THE citizens of Washington and strangers visiting the city are respectfully informed that the subscriber has just opened a gallery as above, which he has fitted up in eregant style, with all the latest improvements, including AN EXTENSIVE SKYLIGHT.

AN EXTENSIVE SATILITY:
and is now prepared to take pictures of all sizes, single or in
groups, which his long experience and great success embolden him to say will be pronounced by competent judges fully
equal to any specimens of the phonographic artever produed in the United States.

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Pictures taken equally well in cloudy as in fair weather.

Perfect satisfaction warranted in a loages.

The public are respectfully invited to call and examinating the process of the process of

MRS. EMILY H. STOCKTON, No. 161 Chestnut street Oct. 25—tf

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DEALS in checks, drafts, acceptances, promissory notes
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Notes on all solvent banks in the United States bought

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Bills of exchange and bank checks on most of the principal cities of the Union bought and sold at the best rates.

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Nov. 15—tf

LARD FOR OIL. LARP WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lar I. Apply to THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer, Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

SANDS' SARSAPARILLA. In Quart Bottles.

OR purifying the blood, and for the cure of Scrofula,
Rheumatism, Stubborn U cers, Dyspepsia, Salt Rheum,
Fever Sores, Eryspielas, Pimples, Biles, Mercurial Disa-es, Cutaneous Eruptions, Liver Complaint, Bronchitis,
Jonsumption, Female Complaints, Loss of Appetite, Genral Debility, Sc.

ideance of this feet, and the experience of fourteen years has won for it a deserved popularity that no other preparation ever attained. Its extensive use throughout the world, and the numerous unsolicited testimonials received by the proprietors, stand as beacons and landmarks to the suffering and diseased, holding forth the inviting language of encouragement—do not despair. Thousands and tens of thousands who suffered without hope, groaning day and night under pain and anguish, beyond the power of language to convey, have not only been relieved, but permanently cured it has been approved by the medical faculty, introduced and extensively used in hospitals, under the watchful eye of physicians, with the happiest results. The preparation being entirely vegetable, renders its administration safe to the most enfeebled frame.

The following testimonials are selected from among the multitude of those we are daily receiving; and for further confirmation, the reader is referred to the Family Keeipe and Medical Almanae, furnished gratuitously by all our agents:

New Durham, N. J , June 30, 1849.

Bardstown, Ky., July 10, 1849.

PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE. AT a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Parkeville A Bydropathic Institute, held Fifth mouth 16th, 1800, Joseph A. Weder, M. D., was unanimously elected Resident Physician, in the place of Dr. Dexter, resigned.

Maving made various improvements, this institute is new are pares to receive an additional number of potients; and from Dr. Weder's walk known skill and practical experience in Europe, insquired under Vincens Preisentia, the founder of the Hydropathic system, and for several years past in this country, and particularly in the sky of Philadelphis, (where he has had many patients,) the Managers believe the afflicted will find him an able and an attentive physician.

cian.

The domestic department being under the charge of a Steward and Matron, will enable the Doctor to devote to the patients whatever time may be necessary.

Application for admission to be made to

SAMUEL WEBB, Secretary.

Omce No. 58 South Fourth street, residence No. 16 Logan equare, Philadelphia.

General Description of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute.

General Description of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute.

The main building is three stories high, standing back from the street about one hundred feet, with a semicircular grass plot in front, and contains thirty to forty rowses. The grounds around the homes are tastefully laid out with walks and plauted with trees, shrubs, &c. On the left of the entrance to these grounds is a cottage containing from rooms, used by male parlents as a bathing house, with every convenience for "packing," bathing, doe, on the right of the entrance, about two hundred feet datant, stands a similar cottage, used by the ladies for similar purposes.

In the rear of the Institute, at the distance of one hundred feet, are three other cottages, some eighty feet apart. One of these is the laundry, with a hydrant at the door; the other two are occupied by the servants.

The hydrant water is introduced into these cottages as well as into the main building, and all the waste water carried off by drains under ground.

THE WATER WORKS

Consist of a circular stone building, standing on the brow of a hill, surmounted by a large colar reservoir containing five hundred barrels, brought from a never-tailing spring of pure cold water in the side of the hill, by "a bydrawlic ram," a self-soding machine of cast from that is hept existently go "a might and also be a feet with a scircular room, containing the donche buth, which is a stream falling from a height of about thirty feet, and can be varied in size from half an inch to an inch and a half in diameter Adjoining the donche room is a dressing room, with marble tables, &c.; the riving douche (for the cure of piles, &c.) is one of the most complete contrivances of the kind, being entirely under the control of the patient using the same.

There are many other appliances, which can be better understood by a personal examination.

May 31.

GLEN HAVEN WATER CURE

GLEN HAVEN WATER CURE.

THIS Establishment, having been completely refitted this winter, is now ready for the reception of visiters. It is beautifully situated among the hills at the head of Skaneateles lake, is supplied with the purest of water, and ample in quantity.

It is easy of access. Persons from New York, Boston, Albany, or Buffalo, can be brought by railroad, and steamboat on Skaneateles lake, to the CURE, and from the southern part of the State can reach it by the Bingbamton and Glen Haven stage. Persons wishing to bring horses and carriages can have them kept in our stables, which are new and commodious, and the guests in our Cure will receive every attention.

JACKSON, GLEASON, & C.J.

Glen Haven, Scott, Cortiand Co., N. Y., April, 1650.

April 25—3m

CLEVELAND WATER CURE ESTABLISH-

CLEVELAND WATER CURE ESTABLISH-MENT.

THE above Establishment, having been put in fine order, is now commencing its third season. The success which has attended it thus far gives bright hopes for the future, and asables the subscriber to say with confidence, to all who wish to make a practicest application of the Hydropathic or Water Cure treatment, that they can pursue it here under the most favorable subspices for the removal of dispase. The heavily of the first the future of the most beautiful cities in the Union, is still very retired. A fine bowling saloon was created the past season, to which patients can have access for exercise and smusement. All patients will be required to fornish three comforters, two large woollen blankets, two coarse cotton sheets, one coarse linen sheet, and six towels.

The price for board, medical advice, and all ordinary attendance of nurses, is \$5 per week, payable weekly. Persons in indigent circumstances, and coming well recommended, will in some cases be taken at reduced prices, provided they are willing to take second rate rooms.

All communications must be nost pail

T. T. SEELYE, M. D., Proprietor.

G. W. SEATON.

G. W. SEATON, A TTORNEY and Counseller at Law, and Solicitor :

Chancery, will give prompt attention to all business intrusted to his care in this and the adjoining counties.

Youngstown, Mahoning Co., O. ENGLISH FREE LABOR PRINTS. A LARGE assortment, just received by GEORGE W. TAYLOR, northwest corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, Philadelphia.

N. B. This establishment is devoted to the products of compensated labor, and a large variety of Dry Goods and Groceries are here provided for those who really wish to be non-slaveholders.

6th mo. 12th—imo.

WHEELAN & WOOD, WHEELAN & WOOD,

WHOLESALE and Retail Boot and Shoe Manufactures, sign of the BIG RED BOOT, No. 39 Lower Market, south side, two doors west of Sycamore street, Cinciunati-Pealers in Boots, Shoes, Palm Leaf Hats, &c.

J. WHELAN.

May 23-1y

A. WOOD.

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH,

Grand and Unequalled Preparation

Grand and Unequalled Preparation is manufactured on the largest scale, and is called for throughout the length and bread h of the land.

Unlike young S. P. Townsend's, it improves with as c, and never changes, but for the better; because it is prepared on scientific principles, by a scientific man. The highest knowledge of Chemistry, and the latest discoveries of the Art, have all been brought into requisition in the manufacture of the Oid Doctor's Surseparilla. The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men, contains many medicinal properties, and some properties which are inert or useless; and others, which, if retained in preparing it for use, produce fermentation and acid, which is injurious to the system. Some of the properties of Sarsaparilla are ac volatile, that they do the properties of the properties, which hy off in vapor, or as an exhalation, under heat, are the very essential medical properties of the root, which give to it all its value. The

Genuine Old Dr. Jucob Townsend's Sarsaparilla

is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsapa rilla root are first removed, everything capable of becoming acid or of fermentation is extracted and rejected; then every particle of medical virtue is secured in a pure and concen-trated form; and thus it is rendered incapable of losing any Cure of Innumerable Disease.

Hence the reason why we hear commendations on every side, in its favor, by men, women, and children. We find it doing wonders in the cure of Consumption, Dyspepsia, and Liver Complaint, and in Rheumatism, Scroyula, and Piles, Costiceness, all Culaneous Eruptions, Pimples, Biotches, and all affections arising from Impurity of the Blood,

snd thus prevents or relieves a great variety of other discs see, as spinal irritation, neuralgia, St. Vitus dance, swooring, epileptic fits, convulsions, &c.

Is not this, then,

The Medicine you Pre-eminently Need?

But can any of these things be said of S. P. Townsend's ferior article? This young man's liquid is not to be Compared with the Old Dr.'s,

while the other does; it sours, ferments, and blows the bot-ties containing it into fragments; the sour, acid liquid ex-pleding and damaging other goods! Must not this herrible compound be poisonous to the system? What! put a-id-into a system already diseased with a-id! What causes dys-